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ABSTRACT

The major goals of education for ethnic minority youth should be to maximize their cultural and social options, to present them with cultural and ethnic alternatives, and to help them attain the skills which they need to function successfully in different co-cultures. The school needs to become a multi-ethnic institution which accepts, encourages, and perpetuates values endemic to diverse ethnic communities. However, focus on ethnic and cultural variables must not divert attention from the role of individual and institutional racism in American society. Effective educational policy and programs must be based on research and theory which focus on both race and cultures and the complex interactions between these two major variables as well as related variables, such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, values, language, and behavioral patterns. Because of the immense complexity of the problem, there is a need to examine multiple variables in determining causes and to devise effective change programs related to race and education. Further research and analyses need to better clarify the relationship between cultures and race in explaining interracial problems and conflict. Concepts related to race and ethnicity can best guide the research and programmatic efforts in this field. (Author/JR)

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: IN SEARCH OF DEFINITIONS AND GOALS*

James A. Banks

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James A. Banks
Professor of Education
University of Washington, Seattle

The Need for Clarification of Concepts and Goals

Before we can fruitfully discuss the curricular and programmatic implications of multicultural education, cultural pluralism, and ethnic education, it is essential that we attempt to clarify the meanings of these concepts. Concept clarification in this area of education is sorely needed. While I believe that most of us who are concerned about fostering interracial understanding and ethnic pluralism in the schools have similar long-range goals, numerous concepts and terms are being used to describe our objectives and programs. These concepts and terms, however, often imply divergent curricular objectives and strategies.

I can anticipate the critic who might consider the following conceptual analysis pedantic, and argue that a serious discussion of the concepts and terms that we use is rather insignificant when we consider the momentous problems and issues which confront us. However, concepts and terms are exceedingly important. They influence the questions we ask, the research methods we employ, and the findings and conclusions we formulate. Language is especially significant in an area as sensitive and as emotionally laden as race relations. For example, policy programs which focus on reducing prejudice or promoting cross-cultural understanding are based on different assumptions, and consequently use different strategies, than programs designed to reduce institutional racism and discrimination.

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Multicultural Education: Historical Precedents

Of the concepts which are currently in vogue, multicultural education, or multiculturalism, is one of the most frequently used. Some discussion of the historical precedents which culminated in the use of this term by educators might be helpful. One important aspect of the Black Revolt of the 1960s was a demand for the inclusion of more information about the Black experience in the school curriculum. Later, such demands were extended to include the hiring of Black teachers and administrators, community control of schools in Black communities, and the acceptance of aspects of Black culture, such as Black English, in the schools. Educators, at all levels, kindergarten through university, responded to these demands in a wide variety of ways. The intensity of the demands and the number of Afro-Americans that were present in the local school or university setting were major variables influencing the kinds of responses which educators made to the demands of Afro-Americans.

The Black Revolt of the 1960s was an extremely important social and historical force which had a profound impact on educational institutions as well as on the protest movements which emerged among other ethnic minority groups, such as Mexican-Americans, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, and Puerto Rican-Americans. Encouraged by what they perceived as the positive responses by dominant institutions to the demands of Afro-Americans, and made acutely aware of their own feelings of alienation and oppression, each of these groups, in a variety of ways, made similar demands on Anglo-American institutions, and especially educational institutions.[1] The similarity of their demands to those made by Afro-Americans suggests a direct relationship between the demands voiced by Blacks and those articulated by other ethnic groups. These demands included a call for more historical information about ethnic groups, the hiring of

more teachers of ethnic descent, and the revision of the curriculum so that it would more accurately reflect the cultures of various ethnic groups. The individuals and groups who were making the last demand assumed that ethnic group youths would considerably improve their academic achievement if the school curriculum was more consistent with their ethnic cultures.

The concept of multicultural education and the practices which it describes, like the concept of Black Studies, did not emerge from a carefully delineated philosophy which was developed and envisioned by enlightened educational leaders, but rather it is a term which was hastily coined in order to help educators to deal with militant demands, harsh realities, and scarce resources. Black Studies in most predominantly White institutions emerged when these institutions were confronted with angry Black students who demanded such programs. These institutions had few faculty members with the skills and commitment needed to establish sound Black Studies programs. Consequently, most Black Studies programs have had a turbulent birth and a shaky existence.[2]

Other minority groups and protest groups pressured schools and colleges for ethnic studies programs and other educational programs which they believed would enhance their goals. As ethnic demands became more widespread and intense, White ethnic groups, such as Slavic Americans, Italian Americans and Polish Americans made demands similar to those which had been articulated by ethnic minorities.[3] These groups felt that non-White ethnic groups, especially Afro-Americans, were reaping social and educational benefits at their expense. At the same time, the women's rights movement was escalating. It demanded that the school change its curriculum so that it would more accurately reflect the experiences of women in American society and contribute more positively to the self-concept development of young women.

Most educational institutions had little or no serious commitment to the issues raised by these groups and did not generally view them as uniquely significant. This situation was complicated by the fact that they faced these demands at a time when their budgets were being drastically cut and school levies were failing at alarming rates. Many school districts and colleges responded to these demands by creating special offices and programs designed to reflect, in a general way, the demands and specialized interests of these groups. In school districts throughout the United States, programs and offices called "multicultural education," "multiethnic education," and "ethnic studies" sprang up. These programs are the offsprings of social protest. Most frequently, they are headed by individuals who have little power and small budgets, with federal funds making up the bulk of their budgets. These offices often coordinate a wide variety of programs, such as federal programs dealing with minority groups, multi-ethnic curriculum development projects, school desegregation projects, and the evaluation of textbooks for ethnic bias. In some cases, they are also expected to handle problems dealing with women's rights and the treatment of women in instructional materials. The concept of multicultural education is being used to describe a wide variety of programs and practices which already exist in the schools.[4]

Educational theorists can make a contribution to this movement by delineating what multicultural education ought to be, specifying guidelines for attaining it, and by clarifying related concepts. We should develop a philosophy and theoretical framework for a movement which already exists, with the hope that we may be able to influence what it might become in the future. It seems to me that this is a promising approach, since institutions which were born without a clear raison d'etre might be more susceptible to philosophical change than institutions which emerged from a clearly articulated philosophy.

Multicultural Education: Definition and Problems

I will attempt to determine what multicultural education in theory suggests, and then try to determine whether it is a concept that will facilitate the attainment of the goals we should be striving to achieve, or whether it poses more problems, rather than contributes to goal clarification and program development. Since culture is the root of multicultural, a discussion of culture is necessary.

Anthropological literature is replete with definitions of culture. In a comprehensive study of culture, Kroeber and Kluckhohn report over 160 definitions of the concept.[5] While there are many definitions of culture, the concept does have some agreed upon meanings. This definition by Kroeber and Kluckhohn highlight some of the consensual meanings of culture, "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional... ideas and especially their attached values...."[6] Wallis offers a useful definition, "[Culture] may be defined as the artificial objects, institutions, and modes of life or of thought which are not peculiarly individual but which characterize a group; it is 'that complex whole....' Culture is the life of a people as typified in contacts, institutions, and equipment.... [It]...means all those things, institutions, material objects, typical reactions to situations, which characterize a people and distinguish them from other people."[7] (emphasis added)

Several characteristics of culture can be noted in the above definitions. Culture consists of the behavior patterns, symbols, institutions, values and other human-made components of a society. It is the unique achievement of a human group which distinguishes it from other human groups. While cultures are in many ways similar, a particular culture constitutes a unique whole. Although

the Navajo Indians in the Southwestern part of the United States share culture traits with Anglo-Americans, such as clothing and modes of transportation, they have a distinctive culture. Write Beals and Hoijer, "Navajo culture includes a large number of distinctive ways of behavior very different from those of other Indians living near them, the Spanish-speaking peoples of the same area, and the...Anglo-Americans of New Mexico and Arizona."[8] Because of the distinctive ways in which Navajo Indians are socialized, we can justifiably say that they have a culture which differs from that of Anglo-Americans and from those of other ethnic groups in American society.

Although Navajo culture is distinctive, it does exist within a society which contains numerous other cultures with which it shares important characteristics. Consequently, we might appropriately call cultures such as the Navajo culture a co-culture. The Navajo culture is an ethnic culture, which is a particular type of culture (discussed later). However, there are also co-cultures in the Unites States which are totally unrelated to ethnicity. The gay culture, the hippie culture, and the culture of the intellectual community are distinctive co-cultures within American society.[9] These co-cultures share many elements with what might be called the general Anglo-American culture, but they are in many ways unique and distinctive. Any individual within a society may be a legitimate member of several co-cultures at the same time. Thus, one individual may be a Navajo, a Bohemian, and a member of the intellectual community.

If we are going to use concepts which are sociologically and anthropologically valid, and I feel that we should, then the concept of multicultural education should reflect sociological and anthropological usage. Anthropologically, multicultural education suggests a type of education which is, in some form or fashion, concerned with all cultural groups within a society. Because multicultural is a very broad and inclusive concept, it is an inappropriate concept to describe the

kinds of problems and issues which those of us who are interested in race and education should be dealing with. A valid argument can be made that serious attention should be devoted to women's rights within a multicultural education program, since some feminists will argue, and I believe justifiably, that women in American society constitute a co-culture because of their unique behaviors and values which differ from those of other American co-cultures. I am acutely sensitive to women's rights, as I am to the rights of other non-ethnic groups which experience social and economic discrimination. Some curriculum specialists should take concerted action to make sure that the rights of women and other victimized groups are reflected in the curriculum. We all share that responsibility.

However, it would be a serious error for those of us who are specialists in race and education to try to stretch our concepts and programs to include women and other kinds of non-ethnic cultural groups. It would also be a serious mistake for us to define our problems in a way that would imply that they should include these groups. Such a step would have an adverse effect on the struggle for women's rights and the rights of other non-ethnic groups, as well as on the efforts designed to improve the education of ethnic minorities. To lump the problems of women, ethnic minorities, and other cultural groups together would be unfortunate because the problems and issues involved in the effective education of ethnic minorities and women are very different. Feminists and spokespersons for other protest groups will occasionally compare the Black liberation struggle with the struggle for women's rights or the rights of handicapped people. The experiences and problems of women and handicapped people are so different from each other, and from the problems of ethnic minorities, in so many subtle and complex ways, that they defy an easy or simple analysis. I will not attempt such an analysis here because it would result in a lengthy diversion. However, I

would like to emphasize that the problems of ethnic minorities in this society, especially those who are non-White or who are regarded as non-White, are unique in our contemporary and historical experience, and have no highly significant similarities to any of the other groups today which are victimized by various forms of social and economic discrimination. Ethnic minorities have historically experienced and are still experiencing forms of insidious racism and oppression which are unique in American life.

It is difficult enough to lump ethnic minorities together when trying to derive valid generalizations about them and to design educational programs to meet their unique needs. While American ethnic minorities have had some parallel experiences, their histories and current problems are often very different and sometime conflict.[10] To add the problems of other cultural groups to their problems will make it almost impossible to engage in fruitful research or to formulate effective educational policy related to minority education. However, because of a number of intellectual, economic, and political reasons, we should attempt to implement research and to design educational programs that will deal with the problems of ethnic minorities as a group, but make needed modifications in research and in programs to reflect unique group needs and characteristics.

Cultural Pluralism: History, Definition and Problems

I have tried to indicate why the concept of multicultural education is inappropriate to describe the kinds of issues and problems which we should be tackling. Cultural pluralism, another concept which educators have begun to use frequently in discussions about race and education, poses somewhat similar problems. The idea of cultural pluralism emerged in the 1920s when nativists and patriotic groups were focusing widespread hostility on the masses of Southern and Eastern European immigrants that were entering the United States. The

nativists felt that Anglo-American culture was endangered by the presence of these immigrants in the United States because they were inferior peasants who might bring the downfall of American civilization and the Protestant religion. The nativists believed that the problems which the immigrants posed could be solved by enacting legislation which would prohibit them from entering the United States and by aggressive programs designed to "Americanize" the immigrants and their children.

Liberal philosophers and writers, usually of immigrant descent, strongly defended the immigrants and argued that their cultures could greatly enrich civilization in the United States and that they had a right to maintain their cultures in a democratic society. In fact, argued Kallen, who first used the concept of cultural pluralism and eloquently articulated it, a democracy does not exist unless groups are able to maintain their ethnic identities.[11] Kallen felt that cultural pluralism was possible only in a democratic society, "whose institutions encourage individuality in groups, in persons, in temperaments, whose programs liberate these individualities and guide them into a fellowship of freedom and cooperation."[12] Kallen argued cogently that the cultures of the various immigrant groups would greatly strengthen American civilization. He viewed a society made up of diverse ethnic cultures as "an orchestration of mankind."[13] Kallen wrote, "As in an orchestra every type of instrument has its specific timbre and tonality, founded in its substance and form; as every type has its appropriate theme and melody in the whole symphony, so in society, each ethnic group may be the natural instrument, its temper and culture may be its theme and melody and the harmony and dissonances and discords of them all may make the symphony civilization."[14] Drachsler, Kallen's contemporary, also argued for cultural diversity and maintained that "cultural democracy" should be a societal goal in the United States, just as political and economic democracy are goals.[15]

Despite the passionate arguments and eloquence of philosophers like Kallen and Drachsler, their pleas largely fell on deaf ears. The nativists continued their aggressive actions to halt the immigration of Southern and Eastern European immigrants to the United States. They experienced what they considered a major victory in 1917, when, after a long struggle, Congress enacted a law which required entering immigrants to pass a reading test. This act did not significantly reduce the number of entering immigrants, as the nativists had hoped and believed. Eventually, however, in 1924, nativism triumphed in the United States. A highly discriminatory immigration act was enacted which severely restricted the number of immigrants that could enter the United States from Southern, Central and Eastern Europe and from non-White nations. Northern and Western Europe were given generous quotas. This act closed a significant chapter in American history and stopped mass immigration to the United States.[16]

The nativists and patriotic groups also continued their efforts to "Americanize" the immigrants. Groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Society of Colonial Dames, and the Sons of the American Revolution prepared lectures, issued publications, and offered civic classes for the immigrants.[17] All of these actions were designed to make the immigrants loyal and to eliminate their "foreignness." Writes Higham,

> "...by threat and rhetoric 100 percent Americanizers opened a frontal assault on foreign influences in American life. They set about to stampede immigrants into citizenship, into adoption of the English language, and into an unquestioning reverence for existing American institutions. They bade them abandon entirely their Old World loyalties, customs, and memories. They used high-pressure, steamroller tactics. They cajoled and they commanded."[18]

Cultural pluralism, as envisioned by Kallen, Drachsler and other writers in the 1920s, was destined to fail in the United States. Although many European Americans tried to establish European institutions on American soil and to maintain their ethnic cultures, the Americanizing influences were too overwhelming for them to survive. The public schools, the American press, and the federal government played key roles in paralyzing the efforts to establish and maintain European cultures in America. Anglo-American culture and its institutions dominated and were not seriously challenged by the waves of immigrants that entered the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The immigrants and their children found it necessary to acquire Anglo-Saxon culture traits before they were allowed to fully participate in American society. Most European Americans chose inclusion rather than exclusion. Consequently, they eventually became Anglo-Americans. Although there are still significant ethnic differences among some European American groups, such as Italian Americans, Greek Americans, and Polish Americans, most European Americans are culturally and politically Anglo-Americans. They see their interest and destiny tied to that of Anglo-Americans. Race is one of the major factors which enables European Americans to maintain a sense of peoplehood and group identity.

The above discussion suggests several reasons why the concept of cultural pluralism presents difficulties when used to conceptualize the current problems which ethnic minorities experience in the schools. Cultural pluralism, as envisioned by its author, largely failed in the United States. Most European Americans are culturally Anglo-Americans. Kallen used the concept to describe the experiences and to promote cultural democracy for European immigrants, and not for non-White ethnic groups. The experiences of European immigrants and those of racial minorities in the United States are frequently compared in contemporary discussions of cultural pluralism.

These kinds of comparisons are usually misleading and pernicious. While European immigrants and non-White immigrants had some similar kinds of experiences, the issue of institutional racism is often minimized or diverted in these kinds of comparisons. Using the "immigrant analogy" to explain the contemporary problems of Afro-Americans, Kristol argues that their major problems do not relate to race, but are caused by the fact that Blacks arrived rather late in highly urbanized Northern areas.[19] This kind of argument completely ignores the fact that Afro-Americans have been settling in Northern cities in significant numbers since the 1890s, the same period in which many Southern, Central and Eastern European immigrants arrived in American cities. Osofsky notes,

> "It has been customary...to begin discussions of northern Negro life with the Great Migration of World War I. Although this was certainly dramatic and important, significant Negro migration to northern cities began in the 1890s. Harlem was an important area of Negro settlement prior to the war. The Negro ghettos of Philadelphia and Chicago were also founded before World War I."[20]

The time of their arrival in Northern cities does not explain the discrimination that Afro-Americans have experienced in the cities both before and after the large migration during the World War I period. One of the difficulties with the concept of cultural pluralism is that it tends, because it focuses primarily on cultural rather than racial differences, to lead to the kinds of deceptive comparisons made by Kristol. The experiences of European immigrants and those of non-White peoples in the United States have been essentially different because of the importance of race in American society. Blauner has commented on this point,

> "Though they faced great hardships and even prejudice and discrimination on a scale that must have been disillusioning, the Irish, Italians, Jews, and other groups had the advantage of European ancestry and white skins.... Sociologists interpreting race relations in the United States have rarely faced the full implications of these differences. The immigrant model became the main focus of analysis, and the experiences of all groups were viewed through its lens. It suited the cultural mythology to see everyone in America as an original immigrant, a later immigrant, a quasi-immigrant or a potential immigrant."[21]

The phrase "education for cultural pluralism" assumes that the intergroup problems in American society are primarily cultural rather than racial. Widespread cultural assimilation has taken place among ethnic minorities in the United States, especially among those who have attained upward social mobility. Some research indicates that the values, goals and aspirations of lower class Afro-American youths are strikingly similar to those of middle class Whites.[22] Thus, while there are significant cultural differences between Anglo-Americans and most ethnic minorities, Anglo-Americans and ethnic minorities share many cultural traits. When cultural differences are minimized, conflict between non-White minorities and Whites still frequently occurs. The cause of most of this conflict seems to be racial rather than cultural. Gordon seriously questions the extent of cultural pluralism in American society, "Structural pluralism...is the major key to the understanding of the ethnic makeup of American society, while cultural pluralism is the minor one.... The most salient fact...is the maintenance of the structurally separate subsocieties of the three major religious and the racial and quasi-racial groups, and even vestiges of the nationality groups,

along with a massive trend toward acculturation of all groups...to American culture patterns."[23] (emphasis added)

The cultural and ethnic differences which exist among racial groups must be reflected in educational programs designed to reduce intergroup tension and to foster interracial understanding. However, overemphasis on cultural differences and cultural pluralism may divert attention from racial differences and racial hostility. We seriously error when we try to understand ethnic conflict in the schools by focusing exclusively on cultural differences between Anglo-Americans and ethnic minorities. If we develop educational programs and policy which are designed to make students more tolerant of cultural differences but fail to deal seriously with problems caused by racial differences, we will not solve our most basic intergroup problems. This is especially true in light of the fact that widespread cultural assimilation is taking place in American society and cultural differences between ethnic minorities and Anglo-Americans will probably be less significant in the future than they are today.

Cultural pluralism also causes the same kinds of conceptual difficulties that multicultural education poses. Education for cultural pluralism, in principle, is concerned, in some way, with all cultures within a society. The Ku Klux Klan is a cultural group which advocates White supremacy. Other co-cultures in our society promote ideologies which are inconsistent with a democratic nation. Does education for cultural pluralism imply tolerance and acceptance of these kinds of co-cultures? Do we really mean that we want to promote tolerance of all cultures in the schools? If not, which cultures are we talking about? Do we mean that we want to promote tolerance only for cultures which are, in our view, consistent with a democratic ideology? Who is to determine which cultures are to be promoted in the schools? Cultural pluralism raises these complex questions. If we are going to use the concept, we should be able to respond to them intelligently

and be able to defend our answers. Racism, sexism, and dehumanization are aspects of human cultures which can be justified with the cultural pluralism argument.

New Concepts As Distractions

I am deeply concerned about concepts related to race and education which educators and social scientists have recently exhumed or invented. Scholars often invent concepts and terms which frequently divert attention from the real issues with which they should be dealing and/or invent terms which they find more emotionally palatable. When new terms are stipulated, valuable time must be spent trying to clarify their meanings and to determine their programmatic implications.

Many academicians are more comfortable discussing unexamined concepts which they have stipulated than they are trying to determine whether institutional racism exists within their own institutions, whether they play a role in perpetuating it, and what steps they might be able to take to help reduce it.* In most current discussions about issues related to race and education, concepts such as institutional racism, power, race, and internal colonalism are conspicuously absent. Rather, new and more comfortable concepts, such as multicultural education, cultural pluralism, and multiculturalism are the fashionable phrases. We should not let unexamined ideas and emerging concepts divert

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*In recent years, a number of writers have presented lucid discussions and definitions of racism. Gay's definition is helpful and perceptive, "Racism is...any activity, individual or institutional, deliberate or not, predicated upon a belief in the superiority of Whites and the inferiority of ethnic minorities, which serves to maintain White supremacy through the oppression and subjugation of members of ethnic minority groups." Geneva Gay, "Racism in America: Imperatives for Teaching Ethnic Studies," in James A. Banks, ed., Teaching Ethnic Studies: Concepts and Strategies (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), p. 30.

attention from the serious social problems which we face, such as institutional racism, poverty, powerlessness, and political alienation. The actions by some Whites in the Boston community when court ordered busing began there in September, 1974, suggest that while the concept of racism might be out of fashion in academia, the kinds of actions it describes are still as American as apple pie. We need to conceptualize our problems in ways that will bring the real issues back into sharp focus.

Education for Ethnic and Racial Diversity

Concepts and terms related to ethnicity are the most useful and appropriate for conceptualizing the problems which we should be tackling because most definitions of ethnicity focus on the culture and race of immigrant and immigrant descendent groups. We must concentrate on both of these variables when designing programs to reduce intergroup conflict. In his study of definitions of ethnicity, Isajiw found that culture was the second most frequently mentioned attribute of ethnicity and that race (and physical characteristics) was the fourth. Other frequently occurring attributes included common national or geographic origin, religion, language, sense of peoplehood, common values, separate institutions, and minority or subordinate status.[24] The definition of ethnicity offered by Gordon highlights the importance of race,

> "When I use the term 'ethnic group,' I shall mean by it any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories...these categories have a common social-psychological referent in that all of them serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood."[25]

Both racial and cultural differences must be reflected in educational

programs designed to reduce intergroup conflict and misunderstanding. Many of our efforts, however, must focus directly on reducing institutional, individual and cultural racism,[26] since racial differences, and not more generalized cultural differences, is the cause of the most serious psychological problems which minority youths experience in the schools,[27] and of racial conflict in the United States. Daniels and Kitano emphasize the latter point,

> "...although the long range causes of the current crisis are many, the conclusion is almost inescapable that the root cause was the pervasive nature of American racism--a racism which, although it grew less and less oppressive as the twentieth century wore on, consistently refused admission into full membership in society to the vast majority of colored Americans."[28]

The relationship between racism and the rejection of the cultures of ethnic minorities by dominant groups must also be considered when formulating educational policy to reduce interethnic conflict. Racism is one of the major reasons why many Whites perceive and evaluate the cultures of ethnic minority groups negatively. Intergroup problems frequently arise not because of the nature of the cultural differences between Whites and non-Whites, but because of the race of the individual or group who exhibits the specific cultural characteristics. The language of poor Blacks is often ridiculed, while the speech of White Bostonians and Southern White ladies, which are as much dialects as Black English, are frequently admired by Anglo-Americans. In the recent past, Mexican American children were often prohibited from speaking Spanish in many schools in the Southwest. However, when Spanish was spoken by Whites it was usually viewed as a useful and esteemed language. Gay has called this phenomenon "cultural racism,"

> "[Another] form of racism is that which involves the elevation of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant cultural heritage to a position of superiority over the cultural experiences of ethnic minority groups. It involves elements of both institutional and individual racism. The idea that "White is right" prevails in this expression of racism. Only those values, attitudes, beliefs, traditions, customs, and mores ascribed to by Whites are considered acceptable and normal prescriptions of behavior. Anything else is is labeled deviant, abnormal, degenerate, and pathological. If this belief were to remain in the realm of attitudes, it would be merely ethnocentrism. It becomes racism when Whites use power to perpetuate their cultural heritage and impose it upon others, while at the same time destroying the culture of ethnic minorities."[29]

Because we need to focus our attention on variables related to both race and culture, and the complex interactions and relationships between these two major variables, ethnic and racial diversity is a much better concept than cultural pluralism or multicultural education to describe our field and will best help to guide our research and programmatic efforts.

Educational Imperatives

There are a number of basic issues and problems related to race, ethnicity and education which warrant immediate and decisive action. Much discussion and debate about these problems has taken place in recent years, especially since the Watts racial rebellion in 1965. However, programs to ameliorate these problems have most often been based on racial insensitivity, unexamined assumptions, educational cliques, and racist research.[30] We must act thoughtfully and

decisively. The alternative is a nation torn by racial strife with a rigid social class system stratified along racial lines. I will now discuss what I consider the basic issues that we need to examine in order to design effective programs to foster multiracial living and understanding.

Reducing Racial Conflict

Our top priority must be to implement programs and practices designed to modify the negative racial attitudes of students. Research indicates that both Black and White children are aware of racial differences at an early age, and tend to express more negative attitudes toward Blacks than toward Whites.[31] Research further suggests that the racial attitudes of youths tend to become more negative and crystallized as they grow older if deliberate efforts are not made to influence them.[32]

To successfully modify the racial attitudes of students, experiences designed to influence the racial feelings and perceptions of teachers must be implemented. The attitudes, behavior, and the perceptions of classroom teachers have a profound impact on the social atmosphere of the school and the attitudes of students.[33] Teachers are even more important than the materials they use because the ways in which they present materials highly influence how they are viewed by students. Teachers must be strongly committed to a racially tolerant school atmosphere before such a setting can be created and maintained.

Unfortunately, available research indicates that many teachers display negative attitudes and behavior toward minority students, especially those who are poor. Recent studies by Leacock, Rist and Gay indicate that teachers, in both subtle and overt ways, communicate negative feelings to their minority students and have a disproportionate number of negative verbal and nonverbal interactions with them.[34]

These types of studies suggest that teacher in-service training is absolutely imperative if we are going to reduce institutional racism in the school setting. In-service training for teachers and other school personnel must have two major objectives: (1) to help teachers to gain a new conceptualization of American history and culture and (2) to help them to confront their racial feelings, which can be a painful process, and if not handled competently, destructive and unsettling. However, despite these risks, it is essential that teachers clarify their racial feelings before they can contribute positively to the reduction of racial prejudice in children and function effectively within a multiethnic setting. I am not defining a multiethnic school setting as one which necessarily has ethnic minority students within it. Rather, I am defining a multiethnic school as one which has a curriculum and institutional norms which reflect the ethnic and racial diversity of American society.

We can reduce the "cultural racism" of students by substantially revising the curriculum so that it is more consistent with the ethnic experiences of the various racial groups in American society. In the last few years, many attempts were made to change the curriculum by revising textbooks so that they would include more information about ethnic heroes and events in ethnic minority history. Textbooks are bigger and blacker now, but serious problems still remain in teaching materials.

It is not sufficient to simply add biographies of ethnic heroes or to color Anglo-Americans brown, as many publishers have done. Textbooks are still written primarily from an Anglo-American point of view, and American history is still conceptualized as an extension of the European experience into the Americas. The melting pot theory still dominates teaching materials and teaching strategies. American is assumed to be that which is Anglo-American. Thus many courses on American history begin with a discussion of the arrival of

Europeans in the Americas in the fifteenth century, and discuss other American ethnic groups, such as Native Americans and Chicanos, only when they become a "problem" for the expansion of the Colonies or the movement of the European Americans Westward.

American history should be viewed from the perspectives of the victims of oppression as well as from the perspectives of the victors. Currently, students study it primarily from the viewpoint of the victors. Both points of view are needed for students to attain a liberating education and for the school to become a cogent force in the elimination of destructive stereotypes. A totally new conceptual framework needs to be used to view and teach about the American experience. We need a new definition and conceptualization of what is American to guide curriculum development and the in-service training of teachers and administrators.[35] The United States should be conceptualized as an ethnically pluralistic nation whose many cultural and ethnic groups add strength and diversity, as well as conflict, to our nation.

The school can also help to reduce cultural racism and ethnocentrism by maximizing the cultural options of Anglo-American youths, and helping them to break out of their ethnic encapsulations. These youths need to learn that there are other ways of being, of feeling, and of perceiving. Most Americans, including Anglo-Americans, are socialized within ethnic enclaves where they learn one basic life style. Consequently, they assume that their way is the only way, or that it is the only legitimate cultural style. Other life styles seem strange, different and exotic. Most ethnic minority individuals are forced to function within the dominant culture. However, many Anglo-Americans are never required to function within other ethnic co-cultures. The school should provide all students with opportunities to become familiar with other races, life styles and co-cultures, and help young people to develop ethnic literacy and become more sophisticated

about other co-cultures.[36] Most Americans are grossly ignorant about ethnic cultures other than their own.

Anglo-American youths should be taught that they have cultural options. We severely limit the potentiality of students when we merely teach them aspects of their co-cultures. Anglo-American students should realize that using Black English is one effective way to communicate; that Native Americans have values, beliefs, and life styles which may be functional for them; and that there are alternative ways of behaving and of viewing the universe which are practiced within the United States that they can freely embrace. By helping Anglo-American students to view the world beyond their limited racial and ethnic perspectives, we will enrich them as human beings and enable them to live more productive and fulfilling lives.[37]

Educating Ethnic Minorities

Educational institutions need to clarify their philosophical positions regarding the education of ethnic minorities, especially those who have distinctive ethnic characteristics. Historically, the school has forcibly assimilated immigrants and minorities into the Anglo-American culture and reinforced and perpetuated the dominant institutions and ideologies in American society. In 1909, Cubberley, the eminent educational historian, lucidly articulated the widespread philosophy of enforced assimilation.

> "Everywhere these people [immigrants] tend to settle in groups or settlements and to set up their own national manners, customs, and observances. Our task is to break up their groups and settlements, to assimilate or amalgamate these people as a part of the American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law, order

> and popular government, and to awaken in them reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth.[38]

Forced assimilation has historically been the goal of public education in the United States for both European immigrants and non-White ethnic groups. The history of Indian education makes this dramatically clear.[39] It is imperative that the school reexamine its assimilationist philosophy in light of contemporary needs and social forces. Many ethnic groups are seriously questioning whether total assimilation is the best goal for their youths, and feel strongly that ethnic youths need to develop a sense of ethnic pride and retain important aspects of their cultures.[40] This problem is compounded by the fact that most of the individuals and groups which shape major public policy in industry and government do not embrace an ethnically or racially pluralistic philosophy, and exclude people who are unlike themselves culturally and racially from full societal participation.[41] Thus, if minority students do not attain the skills and abilities that are part of Anglo-American culture, their opportunities for social and economic mobility will be severely limited.

How can the school resolve this serious dilemma? We can conceptualize the sociocultural environment of minority youths as biethnic consisting of both their ethnic community and the Anglo-American ethnic society* (see Figure 1). While these two societies have many commonalities, each constitutes a unique whole, and have systems of distinctive values, norms, languages, and institutions.

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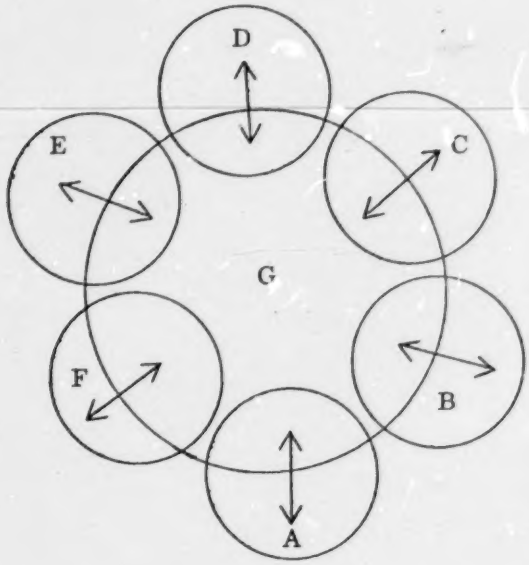
*In this paper, Anglo-American Protestants are conceptualized as an ethnic group. Writes Anderson, "...white Protestants, like other Americans, are as much members of an ethnic group as anyone else, however privileged the majority of them might be." Charles H. Anderson, White Protestant Americans: From National Origins to Religious Group (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. xiii.

Figure 1

The Sociocultural Environment of Ethnic Minority Youths



The ethnic minority youth functions within two socio-ethnic environments, that of his or her ethnic subsociety and that of the dominant ethnic group, Anglo-Americans. The circles labeled A through F represent ethnic minority subsocieties. The circle labeled G represents the dominant ethnic society. The school should help ethnic minority children to learn to function successfully within their own ethnic subsociety, other ethnic subsocieties, and the dominant ethnic society. It should help Anglo-Americans to learn to function in all of these ethnic subsocieties and present them with cultural and ethnic alternatives.

Each also requires a distinctive set of skills to function within it successfully. An individual might be able to function effectively within his or her ethnic community and poorly within the Anglo society. The converse might also be true.

Conceptualizing the sociocultural environment of minority youths as biethnic is an ideal-type notion. In reality, as noted earlier, these societal milieux are not as distinct as is often asserted by cultural pluralists and share many characteristics. Also, many minority youths, especially upward mobile ones, have few or no ethnic cultural traits and are socialized and function primarily within Anglo-American communities. An Afro-American or Mexican-American can be as Anglo-Saxon as an English-American. However, ideal-type constructs can help us to conceptualize a problem, even though they are somewhat at variance with reality. By viewing the sociocultural environment of minority youths as biethnic, we can formulate a philosophically sound position regarding their education. However, in doing so, we should always keep the limitations of our conceptual framework in mind.

The major goal of education for ethnic minority youths should be to maximize their cultural and social options, to present them with cultural and ethnic alternatives, and to help them to attain the skills which they need to function successfully in different co-cultures. To function adequately within their ethnic society and to maximize their chances for social and economic mobility, Black inner-city children need to know how to speak Black English as well as the standard Anglo-American English.

The school needs to become a multiethnic institution, which accepts, encourages, and perpetuates values endemic to diverse ethnic communities. Minority students are likely to resist ethnic content within a classroom setting in which Anglo-Saxon culture is viewed as the ideal. Traditionally, the school has violated the cultures and identities of non-Anglo-American students, and

taught them contempt for their life-styles and their families. Thus, to succeed in school, most minority youths must become alienated from their ethnic cultures. Writes Dickeman, "A choice thus confronts most American pupils from the moment they enter the classroom. Either they must betray family and heritage or they must settle for socioeconomic failure.... The individual dropout is one who has refused to engage in the process of self-alienation."[42]

Ethnic minority youth must be taught how they have been victimized by most institutions within this society, and how social scientists, the schools, the court and other public institutions have benefited from their victimization. These students should be taught how social knowledge reflects the norms, values, and goals of the powerful groups in society, and how it validates those belief systems which are functional for groups in power but dysfunctional for the oppressed and powerless. Textbook writers who have written deceptive histories of ethnic minorities, psychologists who have devised theories about the innate inferiority of minority groups, and educators who have used a "cultural deprivation" model to study and discuss minority groups have all contributed to the pervasive societal myths about ethnic minorities, and to the arguments which justify their oppression.

While it is necessary for the school to teach ethnic minority youths how they have been victimized by American institutions, it is not sufficient. The school must also help them to understand the nature of power relationships in our society, and to understand that one of the major reasons for their fate is their powerlessness. The school should help minority students to master the kinds of skills which they need to plan strategies for gaining power, to provide them with opportunities to exercise power within the school and community setting, and to help them to develop a sense of political efficacy. One of the major goals of a multiethnic curriculum should be to make minority students intelligent political activists so that they will know how to achieve and to maintain power.

To make the school a truly multiethnic institution, major changes must be made in the ways in which we test and ascertain student abilities. Most of the intelligence tests which are administered in the public schools are based upon an "Anglo-conformity, monocultural model."[43] Many students who are socialized within other ethnic cultures find the tests and other aspects of the school setting alien and intimidating. Consequently, they perform poorly on such tests and are placed in low academic tracks, special education classes, and low reading groups. Research indicates that teachers who teach in these kinds of situations tend to have low expectations for their students and often fail to create the kinds of learning environments which will enable them to master the skills and abilities needed to function successfully in society.[44]

Standardized intelligence testing, in the final analysis, serves to legitimize the status quo and to keep powerless groups at the lower rungs of the social ladder. The results of such tests are used to justify the noneducation of minority youths and to relieve those who are responsible for their learning from accountability. We desperately need to devise novel approaches to assess the abilities of minority youths, and tests which will reflect the cultures in which they are socialized. However, it will do little good for us to create novel assessment procedures which reflect their cultures unless, at the same time, we implement curricular and teaching practices which are also multiethnic and multiracial. Students who score well on an ethnically oriented intelligence test are not likely to achieve well within an alien school culture which has a curriculum that is unrelated to their feelings, perceptions and cultural experiences. Mercer has identified some changes which multicultural testing necessitates,

> "...a multicultural perspective would recognize the integrity and value of different cultural traditions. It would not assume that the Anglo-American culture is necessarily superior to other

traditions, or that Anglo-conformity is imperative for social cohesion. It would accept the fact that there are multiple cultural mainstreams in modern America and that individual citizens have the right to participate in as many of these mainstreams as they wish. Differences in life styles, language, and values would be treated with respect, and persons from minority cultures would not be regarded as culturally disadvantaged, culturally deprived, or empty vessels."[45]

Summary

The issues and problems related to race and education are immensely complex and exceedingly difficult to diagnose and solve. Many variables influence the relationships between non-White ethnic minorities and White Americans, such as socioeconomic status, ethnicity, values, language and behavioral patterns. Variables related to culture and ethnicity will remain important in explaining interactions between racial groups as long as they are socialized within different ethnic communities and have negative attitudes toward the cultural differences exhibited by other racial groups.

However, focus on ethnic and cultural variables must not divert attention from the role of individual and institutional racism in American society. Racism is the basic cause of many of the serious psychological problems which ethnic minorities experience in the schools and in the larger society. The interaction of race and culture also explains many interracial problems. Individuals and groups frequently respond negatively to specific cultural behaviors because they are exhibited by racially stigmatized ethnic minorities.

Effective educational policy and programs must be based on research and theory which focus on <u>both</u> race and culture and the complex interactions between

these two major variables and related variables, such as socioeconomic status. Programs which focus exclusively on cultural differences are not likely to lead to positive interracial interactions and understandings. An exclusive "culture" approach is also limited by the extensive degree of cultural assimilation in American society. Race, however, cannot totally explain interethnic problems because there are significant cultural differences between some minority cultures and Anglo-American culture. Because of the immense complexity of the problem, we need to examine multiple variables when trying to determine causes and to devise effective change programs related to race and education. Further research and analyses need to better clarify the relationship between culture and race in explaining interracial problems and conflict. Concepts related to race and ethnicity can best guide our research and programmatic efforts in this field.

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